

others have said that we are not going to break up families anymore even though he was the cause of breaking up the families. What is the plan to get them back together? What is the plan for the future? They now say they are going back to the way it was under Obama because they don't have the resources. What are the resources they need? At the same time, when Sarah Huckabee Sanders says that they don't have the resources, President Trump says: I don't want any more immigration judges. This administration is just contradictory and tied in a knot.

Compounding the problem is the President's ranting—that is what he is doing; I hate to say it—at these rallies when he says that Democrats want crime. Democrats want open borders. Well, Mr. President, I am the author, with JOHN MCCAIN—someone you have also belittled—of a bill that passed this body with 69 votes that put \$40 billion on the border. It would have been far more effective than any wall. We could do that now. We could do comprehensive reform now if some people would be for it on the other side and in the White House.

These rants—these hysterical, nasty, finger-pointing rants—don't help bring bipartisanship here. Yet we expect that of the President, as he has been highly partisan, but they don't help solve the problem. He just shoots from the hip. The different agencies, whether they be the Department of Justice and the Attorney General, the Secretary of HHS, and the Secretary of Homeland Security, don't know what to do because there are so many contradictory signals coming. Who suffers? These poor little children who are separated from their parents suffer.

Two days ago, Sunday, in New York, I called for a czar—a good czar—because, when you have different agencies in charge, you need the White House to direct it all. This President shoots from the hip and is more interested in nasty rhetoric than in solving problems, and nothing gets solved. A czar—some capable, level-headed person who has the President's blessing in the White House, who could help coordinate between Justice and HHS and Homeland Security and the other agencies that are involved—could help solve this problem.

Whether it goes for the czar or not, this administration needs to present a plan—ASAP—of how to unify the kids and how to deal with the border. It has no plan. It has a lot of contradictory language. Let's hope it can get there for the sake of humanity and for the sake of what this country has been all about for its beautiful 229 years.

REPUBLICAN TAX BILL

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, on taxes, one of the chief arguments behind the Republican tax bill was the idea that giving corporations a substantial tax cut would compel companies to hire more workers, give raises, and expand operations.

After a few weeks of news about one-time annual bonuses petered out—and many of those were staged by CEOs sucking up to the President—we have started to get a look at how corporations are really using the profits from the Republican tax bill. What did Harley-Davidson, the iconic motorcycle company that President Trump talked about in his campaign and even afterward, do with their tax cuts? They cut domestic operations, announced a nearly \$700 million stock repurchasing program, and now are moving significant operations overseas. Why didn't Harley-Davidson take that tax break to help continue to employ workers here in America instead of a buyback so the wealthy CEOs and shareholders would get a lot of money? President Trump and Speaker RYAN have held up Harley-Davidson as a success story of their tax bill while they are cutting jobs in America and using the tax cuts for stock buybacks.

It is the same thing with Carrier. There was a great big hoopla with Carrier, but Carrier is cutting jobs and still employs loads of people overseas, even though they got a huge tax break. This tax break has helped the wealthy, the CEOs, the shareholders—most of whom are rich and one-third of whom are overseas—but not the workers and not more productivity in America.

Another one is Walmart. They are cited by the House as a positive example of the tax bill in action. Walmart laid off 1,000 employees in recent months and used the tax bill break for a \$4 billion buyback of its own stock.

This tax bill has proven to be a travesty. All the things that were promised aren't happening. I know our Republican colleagues. They talk to their wealthy businesspeople, and they think it is great. Talk to the average person. It has become unpopular again. Do you know why? It has sunk in that the money ain't going to them, and the big corporations that are getting these breaks are not benefiting them, by and large. Listen to this number: \$450 billion in stock buybacks have been announced. That doesn't employ a single worker. That doesn't raise the salary of a single worker. That doesn't bring new equipment to a company to make it more productive so they can compete better. An analysis was just done by JUST Capital, and 7 percent of the capital allocated by companies from the tax bill's savings has gone to employees, 57 percent to shareholders—close to eight times as much. We Democrats predicted that, and despite the initial hoopla after the bill, the American people are realizing it is happening.

It seems nearly every week, today with Harley-Davidson, there is a new example of corporate America taking a Republican tax cut and putting it to work—not for their employees, not for new equipment, not for new hires but for executives and shareholders. Let's not forget, 80 percent of the stock is held by 10 percent of the wealthiest people. One-third of the shares in

America are held by people overseas. As voters head to the polls this November, they should remember that Republicans spent over \$1.5 trillion of the taxpayers' money to give corporate America a handout while working America got left behind.

We Democrats need to fix that.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBERTS. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FARM BILL

Mr. ROBERTS. Madam President, I rise as the Senate considers legislation on an issue that is critically important to our Nation—the Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018—the farm bill.

The goal, the responsibility, the absolute requirement is to provide our farmers, ranchers, and growers, and everyone within America's agriculture and food value chain certainty and predictability, especially during these very difficult times. This is paramount, absolutely paramount to any other issues and concerns.

It is not an exaggeration to say our Nation's food and fiber capability, with regard to production, hangs in the balance with what we do on this legislation. Simply put, let's get this done.

Many of my colleagues have introduced legislation over the last year that addresses priorities and stakeholders in their States. The bill that passed the Agriculture Committee, with the help and partnership of my distinguished ranking member Senator STABENOW, passed with a strong bipartisan vote of 20 to 1 earlier this month. That bill addresses many of these concerns. In fact, the Ag Committee's bill includes this bill we are considering today, portions of 65 stand-alone bills, and an additional 73 amendments were adopted in the committee. That is called working together. That is called regular order.

Needless to say, we have work to include as many priorities from Members both on and off the Ag Committee, and we want to continue working with Members to address their concerns. Prepare your amendments and come work with Senator STABENOW and me.

We are endeavoring to craft a farm bill that meets the needs of producers across all regions, all crops. All of agriculture today is struggling, not just one or two commodities. We are indeed going through a very difficult time; what we call in farm country, a rough patch.

We must have a bill that works all across our great Nation. We must ensure that our voluntary conservation programs are keeping farmland in operation while protecting our agriculture lands and forests and other

natural resources. Let us not forget that in a few short decades, the global population will top 9 billion people—some are saying even 10 billion. Agriculture production will need to double in the near future to meet that demand. Accomplishing this task requires efficiency, not just on the farm and ranch but also in our government.

We must focus on program integrity—we have done that—and common-sense investments to strengthen our nutrition programs to ensure the long-term health and success of those in need of assistance. We have done that in this bill with efficiencies, reform, and a priority with regard to program integrity.

With trade and market uncertainty, to say the least, we must provide certainty for our trade promotion and research programs. Today we are losing our markets. Kansas wheat is not going to Mexico. Mexico is buying its wheat from Argentina. It is the same for corn. Our corn is not going down to Mexico. Mexico is buying their corn from Brazil.

I think it could be said that when a tariff is imposed to try to improve trade deficits, you also run the risk—and we have already seen it happen—of retaliation, and retaliation comes back directly on our producers and agriculture.

That is why we have to have this bill passed. Feeding an increasing global population is not just an agricultural challenge, it is a national security challenge. Show me a country that cannot feed itself, and I will show you a nation in chaos. This means we need to grow more and raise more with fewer resources. That is going to take investments in research, new technology, lines of credit, and proper risk management. It takes the government providing tools and then getting out of the producers' way.

In this bill, we have made and must make tough choices and be judicious with the scarce resources we have. Through an open and deliberate hearing process over the last 18 months, Members of the Senate Agriculture Committee have asked tough questions, reexamined programs to determine their effectiveness, and tried to ensure programs accomplish their fundamental purposes. Agriculture, and specifically the farm bill, has consistently answered the call to do more with less. To those who say passing a farm bill in this environment is a daunting task—and, yes, it is—I say, together we can get this done.

I think about the folks back home right now. I would like to point out that the wheat harvest is still growing across Kansas, starting in Nebraska, and headed for South Dakota and North Dakota. These farmers in the midst of harvest are facing Mother Nature. The unknown of a thunderstorm or hailstorm can hit just as they try to harvest their grain. In Kansas, we have a drought, but we are still hopeful we can harvest a reasonable crop.

We must adopt the attitude of our producers—optimism and ingenuity. A farmer doesn't plant a seed in the ground without the faith and optimism of harvesting a good crop. That is what we should do. That means, with bipartisan support, we must do our job. We must pass a bill that provides those same men and women the much needed certainty and predictability they deserve. Again, that is the paramount issue.

I know many Members have concerns. Many Members have amendments that want to address a specific problem. They feel very strongly about it, and we are here to help. We are here to help them to address such issues in this bill, but we also have to understand the tough challenges we face. Farmers, ranchers, and growers are in a very difficult time. We must respond to that. We are the Agriculture Committee. We must accept that challenge. We must be champions for these people, and we need a bill. That is the No. 1 issue—certainty and predictability during a very difficult time for our farmers, our ranchers, and our growers.

Now, this is not the best possible bill, but it is the best bill possible under these circumstances. So I look forward to working with my colleagues on continuing to move this process forward.

To my partner in this process, Senator STABENOW, thank you so much for your help and cooperation and working together. I look forward to working with you toward that goal in the days ahead. Let's get this bill done.

I yield the floor.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Morning business is closed.

AGRICULTURE AND NUTRITION ACT OF 2018—MOTION TO PROCEED

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of the motion to proceed to H.R. 2, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Motion to proceed Calendar No. 483, to H.R. 2, a bill to provide for the reform and continuation of agricultural and other programs of the Department of Agriculture through fiscal year 2023, and for other purposes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Michigan.

Ms. STABENOW. Madam President, I thank the majority and minority leaders for bringing this bill to the floor for consideration as quickly as they have done. I appreciate all the Agriculture Committee members on both sides of the aisle for working together to write this important legislation. Most importantly, many thanks to my friend and my partner, Chairman PAT ROBERTS, for his work and his leadership and his commitment to our farmers and grow-

ers throughout this process. It is a great pleasure to work with him.

From the very beginning of this process, Chairman ROBERTS and I made a commitment that we would deliver a strong bipartisan farm bill. Despite the long road we faced, we stayed true to our word. I am proud to say that we wrote a bill that will provide certainty, as the chairman talked about, to our farmers, our families, and rural communities.

We stayed focused on strengthening our Nation's diverse agricultural economy and the 16 million jobs it supports. This is a jobs bill for America. A lot of those jobs are in my home State of Michigan, where our food and agricultural economy supports one out of four jobs in Michigan.

People look at us as an auto State, which we proudly are, an auto manufacturing State. We make things, but we make things and we grow things. I don't think you can have an economy or a middle class unless somebody makes things and grows things. That is what we do. This bill is critical to both of those things. The farm bill helps us make things and grow things, and it is critical to our Michigan economy and to the economy of the country.

Even though agriculture supports the livelihood of so many families, the rest of us may take for granted the work they do and how much we depend on them to be successful. After all, we all have to eat, and the food on our plates comes from a farm or a ranch. Farms like Everbest Organics in Munger, MI, grow the black beans you may find in your burrito. Dietrich Orchards in Conklin produces the apple slices your kids might eat as a snack.

The men and women who own and operate so many farms in Michigan and across this country are the reason our grocery shelves are stocked with the safest, most affordable food in the world. The food we eat depends on the hard work they put in day in and day out. They do this work knowing the great risks they face. For a farmer, a year of work can be lost in a single day. I saw an example of that in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan just yesterday, where severe flooding and mudslides have caused unimaginable losses in Houghton, MI, and Hancock and the surrounding small towns. A number of farms in Menominee County experienced heavy damage. The loss of hay alone will hurt dairy and cattle operations for weeks and months to come.

On top of the uncertainty farmers face from Mother Nature, they also contend with unpredictable markets and certainly unpredictable situations today in terms of Federal policy. The farm economy is struggling right now with low prices. Many farm families are struggling to make ends meet. Uncertainty about international trade is definitely not helping.

When times are tough, the farm bill provides a strong safety net to protect our farmers and ranchers. We took